OBSERVATIONS

ON A LATE PUBLICATION:

INTITULED

A TREATISE

ON THE

POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS,

By P. COLQUHOUN, Esq.

BY A CITIZEN OF LONDON:

But NO MAGISTRATE.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY R. SHAW, SILVER STREET, FLEET STREET:

For H. D. SYMONDS, PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

44
3. 29.
278

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

Price 2s. 6d.

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PREFACE.

IT has been acutely ſaid, that "There is "nothing in which men more deceive themſelves than what the world calls ZEAL. "There are ſo many paſſions which hide themſelves under it, and ſo many miſchiefs ariſing "from it, that ſome have gone ſo far as to "ſay it would have been for the benefit "of mankind if it had never been reckoned "in the catalogue of *virtues*."

Mr. Colquhoun in his celebrated "TREATISE "ON THE POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS," has profeſſed, as moſt ſpeculatiſts do, that *zeal for the good of his country*, was his only motive for undertaking ſo laborious and complicated a taſk as the inveſtigation of the variegated

variegated ſubjects which he has treated in that work.

Undoubtedly we have no right to queſtion the purity of any writer's motives who undertakes the examination of public evils, with a view of aſcertaining their cauſes and providing effectual remedies.

It may happen, however, that a perſon ſo employing himſelf, may be miſtaken in the idea even of his own motives, and while he thinks, and would fain have others do the ſame, that nothing but pure *zeal* and *philanthropy* are his principles of action, he may all the time be under the influence of *prejudice*, or ſome other paſſion leſs excuſable.

There are ſome men likewiſe ſo accuſtomed to the ſight of offenders, and to the inveſtigation of fraudulent practices, that they can think of little elſe, and their minds become jaundiced againſt the whole community.

Theſe obſervations may not perhaps apply exactly to the author of the TREATISE ON POLICE,

POLICE, but as they are founded in truth, and as his book is a developement of a ſhocking ſyſtem of criminality, conſiderable caution ſhould be obſerved in receiving his calculations and his remedies.

According to that book, the Metropolis wears but a very indifferent aſpect in a moral point of view ; and one would almoſt wonder that any ſtranger into whoſe hands it might fall ſhould, after peruſing it, venture his *perſon* and his *property* into ſo dangerous a place.

No one can doubt that great and numerous offences abound in this great city, becauſe theſe are the natural conſequences of an encreaſed population and an enlarged commerce : but inſtead of conſidering theſe evils in the abſtract as prodigiouſly enormous, it is neceſſary for us to view them in *connection* with the *magnitude of the place* where they exiſt, and as formed out of that great ſpring in which we ſo much boaſt.

Abſtracted

Abſtracted ſpeculations are dangerous, as they tend to produce innovations which are not merely uſeleſs, but which may prove pernicious to the public body, and be particularly grievous to individuals.

In this light do the ſtatements, concluſions, and ſuggeſtions of Mr. Colquhoun appear to many ſober and intelligent perſons in this metropolis, whoſe opportunities of obſervation have been great, and whoſe diſcernment and patriotiſm probably are not a whit leſs than his own. They have thought that the public exhibition and claſſification of crimes has not been the moſt prudent ſtep which that gentleman might have adopted; becauſe it has a tendency to create falſe alarms in the minds of the timid, and to render men more ſuſpicious of one another than is accordant with Chriſtian charity or common benevolence, and caſts a diſgraceful ſtigma upon many uſeful occupations in which there are a number of honeſt and worthy perſons.

They

They are alſo of opinion that ſome of the remedies propoſed by this writer are of a ſuſpicious character, and ought to be treated with rigid ſcrutiny, leſt in the adoption of them, *real* evils may be experienced while attempting to get rid of *imaginary* or *trivial* ones. There is another thing which cool and diſpaſſionate minds have obſerved with diſſatisfaction in this famous Treatiſe, and that is the little reſpect which is ſhewn by the author to the chartered Rights of the Citizens of London, and the character and office of its magiſtrates.

He has ventured to propoſe a new Engine of Power and Authority, ſo enormous and extenſive as to threaten a ſpecies of deſpotiſm and inquiſition hitherto without a parallel in this country. This project is a Board of Controul, under the Title of a Board of Police Revenue, which ſhall have the power of inſpecting and directing the proceedings of all other magiſtrates.

This

This mighty Board, if adopted, will exerciſe an unlimited ſway over more than one half of the people in this metropolis who are concerned in buſineſs. Now as perfection is not in man, and there have been inſtances of magiſtrates, and even judges too, who have yielded to paſſion and prejudice, what ſecurity can be had that this powerful authority will be always veſted in men of uncorrupt hands and unbiaſſed minds?

As the government of the City now ſtands, its magiſtrates are more likely to be of this invaluable deſcription, than a ſet of men who are hired to adminiſter juſtice, and whoſe public employment will rather be a *trade* than a *honourable appointment*.

The privileges of the City of London are of a ſacred nature, and one of the greateſt of them is, that of electing its own magiſtrates from among its citizens.

This ineſtimable privilege, which cannot be held too cloſe and maintained too firmly, is

is certainly menaced in a moſt ſerious manner by the author of the Treatiſe on Police.

The author of the following ſheets having obſerved with concern theſe ſymptoms of encroachment upon the body of which he is a member, was anxious to ſee them expoſed and repelled in the ſame manner as they have been propoſed. It aſtoniſhed him not a little that no one ſhould have undertaken to refute the bold poſitions, and exaggerated calculations of this author. This ſilence would ſeem to imply that no anſwer could be made on a reaſonable ground, and knowing the contrary, though very inadequate to the taſk, he reſolved to commit his thoughts to paper and ſend them forth to the public, with a view of exciting the attention of his fellow citizens to a ſubject in which their intereſts are ſo eſſentially involved.

As he has not written from a ſpirit of oſtentation, profeſſional pique, or party prejudice

judice, but ſolely from a regard to the general good, he truſts that the candour of the public will excuſe his errors and the plainneſs of his language.

BRITISH MUSEUM

July 21, 1800.

OBSERVATIONS,

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

IT is the boaſt of ENGLISHMEN, that the laws they acknowledge are the voice of the nation: that they equally preſcribe the powers of the monarch as well as the meaneſt of themſelves. As the individual is intereſted in thoſe laws, it belongs to him to obſerve the conduct of thoſe who are inveſted with power to execute them. Founded in wiſdom, and ſanctioned by uſage, they conſtitute, while unrepealed by the authority which ordained them, the limits of action to the preſent and to future times.

As individuals, intereſted in the laws which exact obedience, we have a right to inveſtigate them. When alterations are propoſed and carried into execution, what before was only a right, becomes a duty. If, in

the reſult of ſuch enquiries, ſeeming improprieties and dangerous innovations are introduced, by theoretical ideas and chimerical ſuggeſtions, they ought to be made manifeſt.

By liberal inveſtigation, man attains the knowledge of truth, and by the firm declaration of the reſult of his enquiries liberty is maintained. Hereby alſo injured innocence is often reſcued from calumny and ſlander, and reſtored to its rights of freedom, property and reſpectability, in whatever ſphere of life it is allotted to move.

Such enquiries are frequently checked, when the ſubject is of a nature where the reader is not inclined to receive a conviction from reaſon and facts; becauſe it militates with a prejudiced opinion, and ſometimes private intereſt.

The evils which ariſe from the promulgation of chimerical ideas, or miſrepreſentation of facts, are dangerous not only to individuals but to the community at large; and the more ſo as the authors become popular: "the miſchief increaſes unperceived " by the people at large, becauſe few men will " ſubject themſelves to inveſtigation of great " labour,

" labour, without which facts are not to be " obtained; and without facts it is impoſſible " to reaſon with accuracy, or draw concluſions " upon any ſubject." *

The publiſher of the book under diſcuſſion, " *A Treatiſe on the Police of the Metropolis* " has declared his decided opinion for and abſolute neceſſity of altering the exiſting laws, reſpecting puniſhing and *preventing* criminal offences. Could the laws be ſo altered as that the number of crimes might be reduced, immenſe indeed would be the advantages rendered to ſociety.

The importance and novelty of ſuch an undertaking muſt have excited curioſity. Yet by a deliberate inveſtigation, the methods propoſed for the purpoſe will appear not only impracticable (it might be ſaid impoſſible) but dangerous and oppreſſive;—by laying additional burthens upon the public, and ſhackling the ſpirit of exertion and induſtry;—by magnifying miſconduct and irregularities into crimes puniſhable at diſcretion;—by over-

 throwing

* Colquhoun's Treatiſe, P. 394.

throwing chartered privileges under a pretence of inability to exercise them properly;—and by creating unlimited powers in officers who act only officially.

The author has, undoubtedly, given much information to the public, which if properly applied must be useful, and from the situation he holds no man could be more capable. From the various subjects upon which he treats, and the number of his readers, many conclusions must have been drawn, and observations made, among which the following are submitted to the public.

The author of the "TREATISE," begins, by observing to his readers, that "Police "(speaking of the metropolis) is a subject of "great importance to be known and under-"stood," This knowledge of the police, however, it is much to be feared, is not easily attained by persons who are most likely to be affected by its operation.

However necessary it is that all persons should have a general knowledge of the laws by

by which they are governed, and however deſirous it may be for thoſe that have time to obtain ſuch information, the heavy expence in purchaſing the means for that purpoſe (of which the author's Treatiſe is one inſtance) prevents the diffuſion of that " ſpecies of knowledge" which might, when underſtood, have a better effect than all the theoretical remedies propoſed by the writer.

The advantages ariſing to ſociety from the ſyſtem of a well regulated police are very juſtly deſcribed by the author, who ſays " Next to " the bleſſings which a nation derives from an " excellent conſtitution, are the abilities and " purity with which the laws are executed." From ſuch ſentiments, publicly expreſſed, by a gentleman high in honor, and inveſted with full powers to execute the duties of a magiſtrate, the public have much to expect. Such opinions, every lover of good order in ſociety muſt ſubſcribe to.

The celebrated BECCARIA is of opinion, " That no government has a right to puniſh " its ſubjects, unleſs it has previouſly taken care

" care to inſtruct them in the knowledge of " the law, and the duties of public and private " life." Early education prevents more crimes than the ſeverity of criminal laws. The ſtrong and philanthropic mind of WILLIAM PENN (proprietor and founder of the province of Pennſylvania) imbibed thoſe opinions; and proviſions to ſecure them were interwoven with his ſyſtem of puniſhments: his laws enjoined all parents and guardians to inſtruct the children under their care, ſo as to enable them to read the ſcriptures by the time they attained the age of twelve years; and directed, that a copy of the laws (at that time few, ſimple, and conciſe) ſhould be uſed as a ſchool book. Other provinces adopted his plan, and directed that the children ſhould be inſtructed in the laws, particularly ſuch as related to capital offences.

Unhappily for this country, the criminal laws are too multifarious for the people to receive inſtruction by the ſame means. Legiſlators feel themſelves elevated above the commiſſion of many crimes which the laws proſcribe, and they have too little perſonal intereſt in a ſyſtem

tem of puniſhment, to be critically exact in reſtraining its ſeverity. The degraded claſs of men, who are the victims of the laws, are thrown at a diſtance which obſcures their ſufferings, and blunts ſenſibility. Hence ſanguinary puniſhments, contrived in deſpotic and barbarous ages, have been continued when the progreſs of freedom, ſcience, and morals, renders them unneceſſary and miſchievous.

To indulge in declamation, and to magnify indiſcretions or irregularities into crimes that deſerve a ſevere puniſhment, is not the character of a philanthropiſt. A ſettled diſpoſition to think ill of any one part of mankind, is not a mere error in judgment which may be ſafely and innocently indulged: it is an unjuſt and malignant cenſure upon a CERTAIN RACE OF OUR FELLOW CREATURES, contradictory to facts and experience; it is a perverſe humour, tending in general to overturn the grand pillars of human happineſs, and to deſtroy that ſocial confidence, which ought to be the bond of ſociety. Every approach towards a habit of general and indiſcriminate cenſure ought to be induſtriouſly avoided.

Among

Among the many "exiſting evils," the author of the Treatiſe laments that the wholeſome laws, and the meaſures purſued by our anceſtors more than two centuries ago, for the prevention of crimes, and binding to good behaviour, *perſons likely to commit offences*, have been diſregarded, or not properly attended to, as, ſince that period a different plan has been purſued. That our modern ſtatute books have been filled with numerous laws, in many inſtances, doubtfully expreſſed, which, aided by the "FALSE MERCY OF JURIES" * in acquitting thoſe whom they conſidered innocent, has increaſed the body of criminals.

But this admirer of antiquity ſhould have remembered, that the times to which he alludes were when the power of government was leſs limited, and the natural rights of man leſs attended to:—when the adminiſtration of juſtice was intruſted to judges who held their appointments

* Such opinions promulgated may have very fatal conſequences; for who but muſt dread the compulſion to a ſervice ſo important, as to be intruſted not only with the deciſion upon property, but even with life itſelf, if their opinions (for the purity of which they have given the moſt ſolemn teſtimony) are liable to be publicly cenſured by every one who may think himſelf capable of reforming the juriſprudence of the country.

appointments *only during the pleaſure of the crown*---and TIMID JURIES, who were liable to fines and impriſonment, at the diſcretion of the court, if they found a verdict contrary to the direction of thoſe dependant judges. Under ſuch an adminiſtration, little juſtice might be expected---and leſs ſecurity to the liberty of the ſubject.

Nor can his obſervation reflect any favourable ideas of the different legiſlators, and the great luminaries of the law who have done ſo much credit to this country ſince that period. The one muſt have enacted ſuch laws as were dangerous to proceed upon; and the other have neglected them, or been afraid to put in execution. Thoſe who are in the practice, and whoſe ſtudies have made them familiar with thoſe great men, would not have beſtowed ſuch a negative compliment to their memory.

Another "exiſting evil," noticed by the author of the "Treatiſe" is, that as the preſent laws are adminiſtered, the major part of CRIMINALS who are committed by magiſtrates for trial *on very ſatisfactory proofs*, are returned upon the

 public

public in vaſt numbers. This cannot be otherwiſe accounted for than by the falſe mercy of juries, or the want of proſecution. In order, therefore, to *enlighten the minds of the jury*, if the charge againſt the priſoners cannot be ſufficiently proved to carry conviction, their characters ſhould be ſcrutinized into, and other evidence taken, that the courſe of juſtice might not be fruſtrated.

It is a moſt happy circumſtance for thoſe who live under the Engliſh conſtitution (for there is nothing favourable to it in the *practice of other countries*) that the laws have drawn a boundary for their proceedings, and that no ſuſpected perſon (for there are no criminals till found guilty by the law) is bound to anſwer for more than he is charged with upon the record; and this practice is invariably followed. If opinions were to be admitted as proofs of guilt, and thoſe given by perſons ſanguinary for conviction, the appeal of the ſuſpected party to the laws of his country, for juſtification againſt any charge, would be but a ſlender ſecurity; becauſe ſuch evidence

dence might be then introduced as had other motives than public juſtice. *

The law and the practice are in direct oppoſition to ſuch a meaſure as propoſed: it is a particular inſtruction to juries that their minds ſhould be free---that their opinions of the matter before them ſhould not be guided by any former tranſaction to the prejudice of the party accuſed---and that their attention ſhould be wholly confined to the circumſtances upon which they are to decide.

In caſes of trial, the law requires indubitable ſigns: it being the ſafer ſide to ſpare even the guilty, than to condemn on preſumed and probable guilt. Preſumptions are only founded on MAY-BE'S---which MAY-NOT BE. To allow crimes to be proved by preſumption would leave the judge to be arbitrary. There are indeed hidden crimes of a very atrocious nature, ſuch as treaſon, aſſaſſinations, and forgery, which it may be next to impoſſibility to prove by oral evidence. Where ſuch evidence can-

* See the trial of *Macdaniel*, *Berry*, *Salmon*, and *Eagan*, thief-takers, at the Old Bailey, for perjury. Theſe miſcreants, for twenty years, had purſued the practice of depriving innocent perſons of their lives by perjury, for the ſake of the rewards.

not be referred to, and no other arifes but what providence offers, and circumſtances concur, the arbitraments of the judge ſhould take place; the ſafety of mankind lies in his integrity and diſcretion, aided by ſome rules of law.

It is further obſerved, "as the law now "ſtands" little or no encouragement is given to the detection of offenders, or carrying into effect the energy of active magiſtracy; for no ſooner is a "criminal" charged with any offence, and committed by a magiſtrate, than "recourſe is had to ſome diſreputable attor-"ney, (or advocate) whoſe mind is made up, "and prepared to practiſe every trick and "deviſe which can defeat the ends of ſubſtan-"tial juſtice."

It is very natural, and a duty they owe to themſelves, for perſons charged with offences, and in many inſtances innocent, to make application to thoſe who are moſt capable of protecting them by the laws of their country, from the effects to which they might be expoſed by the teſtimony of intereſted, and ſometimes perjured

perjured evidence. Such a reflection thrown upon thoſe who have undertaken the cauſe of injured innocence, is highly cenſurable at leaſt, and cannot have the weight upon an attentive reader, that is intended by the inſinuation.

There is one "exiſting evil" which the author has not noticed among the many others he has exhibited—the many libels that are brought forward in publications, under a ſpecious pretence of reforming the morals and manners of the general deſcription of people. Some of thoſe are not only direct libels againſt the habits and profeſſions of individuals, but of the conſtitution itſelf; and in moſt caſes the parties who are injured by ſuch calumnies and falſehoods (by far the greateſt in number) are not likely to have any knowledge thereof, not being in the habits of much reading. A remedy propoſed, and carried into effect, to *prevent ſuch a practiſe*, would be worthy of any perſon who undertakes a general plan for the remedy of "exiſting evils." *

After

* This offence is particularly pointed at in the new code of laws publiſhed by the Emperor Joſeph, No. 28, 56, and 57.

After enumerating various others, the author points out the different offences which are puniſhable by death, and the authorities (acts of Parliament) by which it is done. His obſervations, and they are general ones, are that the mode of puniſhment by death, in many caſes is too ſevere; while thoſe of greater turpitude, as rapes by violence or ſeduction, receive little or no puniſhment equal to the offence. It is true, that in caſe of a rape by violence, it is death; but the tender regard the law has for life (and ſo it ought to have) requires ſtrong evidence before conviction.

Between the years 1720 and 1732, there were 23 perſons tried for this crime at the Old Bailey. Of all thoſe only two where convicted; one of them the *infamous* Col. CHARTRES, who *was pardoned*; the other a ſervant boy, aged *fifteen*, who *was hanged*. * The puniſhment

* As theſe two perſons met with different fates, it may not be improper to relate their different ſituations relative to ſociety. Francis Chartres, (a man infamous for all manner of vices) when an enſign in the army, was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat; he was next baniſhed Bruſſels, and drummed out of Ghent, on the ſame account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming tables, he took to lending of money at exorbitant intereſt, and on great penalties;

puniſhment for this offence by the new code of German laws, exhibited by the author of the Treatiſe, is " impriſonment, not leſs than FIVE years nor more than EIGHT; with condemnation to the public works."

Of rapes by ſeduction is to be underſtood, where premeditated deſigns for the deſtruction of

nalties; accumulating premium, intereſt, and capital, into a new capital, and ſeizing to a minute when payment became due; in a word, by a conſtant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immenſe fortune. His houſe was a perpetual bawdy-houſe. He was twice condemned for rapes and pardoned; but the laſt time, not without impriſonment in Newgate, and large confiſcations. He died in Scotland in 1731, aged 62. The populace at his funeral raiſed a great riot, almoſt tore the body out of the coffin, and caſt dead dogs, &c. into the grave along with it.

The character of this man is very juſtly drawn by Dr. Arbuthnot in the following epitaph. " Here *continueth* to rot the body of FRANCIS CHARTRES, who, with an inflexible conſtancy, and inimitable uniformity of life, perſiſted, in ſpite of age and infirmities, in the practiſe of every human vice, excepting prodigality and hypocriſy: his inſatiable avarice exempting him from the firſt, his matchleſs impudence from the ſecond. Nor was he more ſingular in the undeviating pravity of his manners, than ſucceſsful in accumulating wealth; for without trade or profeſſion, without truſt of public money, and without bribe-worthy ſervice he acquired, or more properly created, a *miniſterial eſtate*. He was the only perſon *of his time* who could cheat without the maſk of honeſty, retain his primeval meanneſs, when poſſeſſed of TEN THOUSAND a year. And having daily deſerved the gibbet for what he *did*, was at laſt condemned to it for what he *could* NOT DO."

The other perſon who was convicted and *ſuffered* for an offence of the ſame nature, was a lad, who had been drawn into vicious habits and contracted a bad diſorder. Upon explaining his ſituation to ſome confidential acquaintance, was informed he would get clear of it by connexion with a perſon not in the ſame ſtate, which advice he imprudently followed (by force) and it brought him to an untimely end.

of innocence (often attended with fatal conſequence to the peace of families) are reduced to a ſyſtem, by perſons who are in a regular employ for that purpoſe. Such perſons deſerve, at leaſt a puniſhment equal to the receivers of ſtolen goods.

The puniſhment by death for many offences, as the law now ſtands, has been a ſerious conſideration for a very conſiderable time, to ſome of the moſt able and humane profeſſional men. It has been diſputed whether the laws have a right to inflict it. But whether that right exiſts or not, ſome atrocious offences require extraordinary modes of puniſhment; and as the humanity of the Engliſh laws will not admit of torture, ſuch examples have been conſidered as neceſſary. The puniſhment of capital crimes, by death, has therefore been admitted into this country, and if it has not had the deſired effect in ſome inſtances, the law may be juſtified in the practice.

The final execution of the law may be (and it was ſo intended) the leaſt part of the puniſhment, the principal end of which was the prevention

prevention of crimes by example: and when it is conſidered what muſt be the feelings of a mind preparing for an event that will ſpeedily take place---that is to bring him to anſwer before a tribunal where every ſecret is known---that in the midſt of health, ſtrength, and perhaps youth, the only retribution he can make to an injured community, is ſuffering a public inſtantaneous death in ignominy and diſgrace, not only to himſelf but it may be a reſpectable connexion. Ought not thoſe circumſtances to be conſidered as an additional puniſhment, and operate as a terror to check the perpetration of attrocious offences.

If the laws were ſimplified, better known, and made more adequate to the nature of the offences committed, executions might be leſs frequent, and not to the extent they now are. When ſuch events become abſolutely neceſſary for the purpoſes of juſtice and example, they ought to be conducted with a greater degree of ſolemnity, which might have a good effect upon the minds of thoſe who are in the habit of attending them. Such was the opinion of one who knew the laws, had the abilities,

and was intruſted with the power of executing them; * in which duties ſince that period, none have excelled and very few equalled him. Thoſe who have been witneſſes to the ſolemn manner in which executions are conducted in ſome parts of Europe, ſpeak of the impreſſion ariſing from *that* circumſtance as wonderfully ſtrong.

To prove that puniſhment by death is not only improper but impolitic, the author has given a detail of a new arrangement of German laws, lately *decreed* by the emperor. Whoever will compare them with the Engliſh laws, although multifarious in the means of puniſhing delinquency (even that of death) they will be found lenient. The puniſhment by death is only enforced upon thoſe who have committed offences which the laws have deemed capital; compare that puniſhment, (which has for its principal object EXAMPLE) with thoſe in the German ſyſtem for the ſame offences, and it might appear mercy. When not leſs than THIRTY YEARS ſolitary confinement

* Henry Fielding, Eſq. perſonally known to the author of theſe ſheets.

ment in a loathſome dungeon—branded by a mark of infamy—no other bed than the ground —no nouriſhment but bread and water—deprived of all communication with relations and ſtrangers—and the ſuffering public corporeal puniſhment, * is to be the conſequence of conviction. In offences not ſo injurious to the ſtate or ſociety, the puniſhments are *more mild;* the confinement being reduced to the number of *only* FIFTEEN YEARS, and downwards, with condemnation to the public works for a time unlimited.

The total relinquiſhment of the mode of puniſhments by death, would be a moſt deſirable object, and for the accompliſhment of ſo humane a purpoſe, the author has introduced the before-mentioned abſtract of the German ſyſtem; but if ever that ſhould be changed, it is hoped it may be effected without making delinquents ſuffer death a thouſand ways.

* Corporeal puniſhments are inflicted with a whip, rod, or ſtick; in addition to which, when the culprit is ſentenced to *ſevere* puniſhment, he is cloſely chained, and has no more room allowed than ſerves for the indiſpenſible liberty of his body.

In Ruſſia likewiſe, the puniſhment of crimes by death was aboliſhed, in conſequence of a vow made by the empreſs Elizabeth. But it is aſſerted, that the abuſe of this clemency became ſo intolerable, that the council requeſted her to re-eſtabliſh the law which ordained that certain crimes ſhould be puniſhed with death; which appears to have been complied with, in an inſtance of four villains who were condemned to be broke upon the wheel for murder. The puniſhment of death is now formally retained only in the caſe of high treaſon, yet in that for murder, it virtually ſubſiſts. Though no one is literally ſentenced to die, many are knooted to death: to this is added the ſlitting the noſtrils, and branding on the cheeks with hot irons. By relinquiſhing the puniſhment of death, and eſtabliſhing ſuch a code of laws, although "in an enlighted age," humanity has gained but little.

The author, in his ſtatement of facts, (chap. 3.) ſays, "that ſmall thefts, committed "by perſons not known to belong to the fraternity of thieves, are eſtimated to amount

"to

" to the enormous ſum of ſeven hundred thou-
" ſand pounds a year." This curious and extenſive calculation is not his own: but his opinion of the fact is maintained by the intelligence he received from a perſon originally a dealer in rags and old iron, and, no doubt, *well informed* in the art of privately ſtealing. Whenever any circumſtance is related by the reſpectable magiſtrate from his own knowledge, it ought to carry that weight with it which would amount to conviction; but when information is received by an apoſtate from delinquency, it ſhould be attended to with great caution. It is certain that much of the knowledge contained in the " Treatiſe " has been obtained by ſuch means.

As if the repreſentations of the author, in the former part of his " Treatiſe, " were not ſufficiently alarming to timid minds, he proceeds by ſaying, " This ſyſtem of thievery is
" not confined to the precincts of the metro-
" polis, it is extended in a peculiar manner
" through the different counties in its vi-
" cinity." This information he communicates upon the authority of the author of a recent

cent publication. * Although this author may be much better known, and his teſtimonies have more credit than thoſe before-mentioned, his want of candour and liberality is conſpicuous. From men who can ſubmit themſelves to be governed by mean prejudices or ſelf-intereſt, facts are not always to be obtained.

None but ſuch who are guided by one or other of the above motives would ever have imbibed, or even ſupported ſuch opinions as are promulgated in that publication, where it is ſaid (ſpeaking of London) " That the claſs of " menial ſervants, like the domeſtic ſlaves of " the ancients, are idle and lazy:—uſe little " exerciſe—none when they can avoid it." And further, " The *laſt claſs*, who conſiſt of " the working part of the manufacturers, and " labourers of *all denominations*, with ſome " exceptions, *are the moſt diſorderly, profligate " debauched ſet of human beings perhaps on the " whole earth*; working hard, and being dex- " terous in their occupations, earn large ſums " of

* Middleton's Survey of the Agriculture of the County of Middleſex.

" of money, which they ſpend in drinking,
" always idle when they have any left: ſo
" that their life is ſpent between labour and
" attention--perfect idleneſs and debauchery."
Such are the public teſtimonies of ſome who have undertaken a general deſcription of the inhabitants of the metropolis. What an effect ſuch opinions may have upon the ideas of foreigners, or even thoſe who are principally reſident in the country, and whoſe avocations will not permit frequent journies to London, may naturally be conjectured.

That Induſtry, the bodily labour of the human being, is the foundation of all property (however unwillingly acknowledged by ſome who poſſeſs great wealth) is an indiſputable fact. It is, therefore, not only impolitic but reprehenſible, to throw imputations of depravity upon the ſmall indulgencies enjoyed by the lower but moſt uſeful orders of people; for they operate as a ſtimulus to future exertions, at the ſame time that they contribute to the exigency of the ſtate.

There are two incontrovertible propoſitions,

viz.

viz. 1. Whoever *does not* labour for his own living, let his poſſeſſions and expences be what they may, is, for the common neceſſaries of life which he enjoys, only a penſioner on the induſtry of others. 2. That thoſe who *do* labour for their own Suſtenance, are originally, and by nature, the only independent people in the world.

The ſupport, the independence, the dignity of the nation, rely upon the exertions of the induſtrious multitude. Does the earth ſpontaneouſly produce every thing for the uſe and *luxury* of mankind?--No. Every thing valuable is acquired and preſerved by labour.

The accuſations brought as a general characteriſtic of the laborious claſs of manufacturers in the metropolis is as falſe as it is invidious; every one who has candidly conſidered the ſituation and number of its inhabitants, muſt admit there is no town in the known world where ingenuity, abilities, and bodily induſtry are more exerciſed and encouraged than in London.

The

The circumſcribed and cloſe ſituation in which many manufactures are carried on, (ſome under ground) and the diſagreeable circumſtances of thoſe employed in them, being often aſſailed with noiſome and dangerous effluvia, neceſſarily render ſome reſpite indiſpenſible. It is not too much, therefore, that the labouring and ingenious mechanic, with his wife and children are *permitted* to breath the freſhneſs of that air which heaven deſigned they ſhould be partakers of in common with *their* fellow-creatures. But when it is held forth that every relaxation from hard labour (even ſickneſs ſometimes) is deemed idleneſs—every exerciſe, diſſipation—every enjoyment of the rare but ſcanty comforts of life, is called luxury—every complaint excited by the difficulties they labour under is termed "licentious clamour"—and every oppoſition, whether by expreſſion or action, is called the "turbulent effuſions of vulgar life" and puniſhed with a ſeverity only known in modern times, the author muſt admit that there has been ſome change or addition in the penal laws; how far they will operate to the general benefit of mankind, he,

with the aſſiſtance of time, may be able to explain.

In order to increaſe an unfavourable opinion of (I might ſay diſguſt) the order of people here conſidered, this *intelligent* writer, proceeds, by ſaying, " The funds raiſed for " ſupporting the *idle poor* of this country, are " ſo numerous, efficient, and comfortable, as " to operate againſt the general induſtry of the " labouring poor. Lodging and diet in the " workhouſe, *in every inſtance*, are ſuperior to " what the induſtrious labourer can provide " for his family."

This in part may be true:—but if ſo, it is a *melancholy truth*. The difference of ſituation does not ariſe from the abundance of comforts in a workhouſe, but from the ſcanty produce of the labouring man, who after all his induſtry cannot obtain half a ſupport for his family: domeſtic comfort is forbidden: and therefore to him a family is the greateſt calamity. This claſs muſt conſign themſelves to the moſt unintermitting exertions.—They muſt ſubmit to the greateſt extremities of want

and

and ſelf-denial—in order to gain a bare ſupport for their unfortunate offſpring.

The *idle poor* are not the moſt numerous inhabitants of a workhouſe, *they* are the very people who ſhrink from ſuch aſylums; the idea of being ſet to work—the reſtraint they muſt be under by confinement—the ſubordination that they muſt ſubmit to—are ſome of the reaſons why they would endure any thing rather than accept of ſuch a ſituation. The unfortunate inhabitants of thoſe manſions of diſtreſs, are in general (eſpecially in the country) the aged poor, and infant children, whoſe uſeful labours are employed frequently to ſupport the hand that at this period moſt oppreſſes them. The elder children are diſpoſed of in another manner.

That this is the caſe of the aged poor in the country, is ſtated by thoſe who are well acquainted with practical huſbandry, (profeſſionally) more than thoſe who exerciſe it only experimentally. This intelligent author *

 ſpeaks

* Agricultural Oppreſſions.

ſpeaks from perſonal knowledge and obſervation, and deſcribes their ſituation in the following manner:

" The venerable labourer, after being *quite* " *exhauſted* by the united preſſure of years and " infirmity, ought, in remembrance of his " paſt ſervices, to be preſerved by the hand " of tenderneſs. But, inſtead of this, he is " relentleſly dragged to a workhouſe, and " immured in the dreary receptacle of woe: " there he is left to languiſh in mournful deſ- " pondency—the victim of diſeaſe, want, and " every wretchedneſs, breathing his plaintive " ſigh to the ſolitary walls. In vain he " wiſhes for the friendly hand to adminiſter " ſome cordial relief to his affliction—no " hope is left to mitigate his ſorrow. To " render his ſituation ſtill more inſupportable, " he muſt be a ſlave to the arbitrary caprice, " or churliſh diſpoſition of the petty deſpot, " who, with all the diſguſting authority of " narrow-minded ſelf importance, ſuperin- " tends the gloomy manſion of his wretched " degradation. Thus he mourns dejected " and forlorn, without freedom, without " health,

" health, and witnout comfort. Under theſe " circumſtances life becomes diſguſting, and " the proſpect of death is his only conſola- " tion."

This gentleman (Mr. M.) ſpeaking profeſſionally as a land ſurveyor and ſpeculator, in his zeal for improvement, mentions ſeveral obſtacles that *muſt be removed* before a proper encouragement is held out for ſuch undertakings; ſome of theſe he has dwelt largely upon. The inconveniences (or rather nuiſances as deſcribed by him) which he moſt notices, are the natural and acquired rights of the peaceful cottager; the revenues of the church; and the exiſtence of a juſt and neceſſary war.

With equal candour and truth, in ſupport of his opinion for the removal of the firſt, (P. 42) he gives the following deſcription: " Cotta- " gers who live on the borders of commons, " woods, and copſes, are a real nuiſance, from " the circumſtance of a conſiderable part of " their ſupport being acquired by pilfering. " It is a notorious fact, that in all caſes cot-

" tages,

" tages, not having any ground belonging to " them, promote thievery to a great extent." In every part of the country there *were* many cuſtoms which this deſcription of people conceived to be their right; if not ſo, they were always conſidered as privileges, and enjoyed as ſuch, till the rage for improvement prevailed, when another name was given to them.

The other obſtacles which he more particularly alludes to, are 1ſt, the oppreſſive tithes of the clergy, (P. 56) ariſing from the induſtry of the farmer and the labourers; and, 2dly, the exiſtence of the war.

The firſt of theſe, as touching the revenues of the church, may not be ſo eaſily accompliſhed, as when the alarm is ſpread that " *The Church is in danger* " a number of advocates for its defence will not be wanting. A volunteer * on this duty has already offered his ſervice. The next (if perſiſted in) may render the author liable to be ſuſpected of entertaining

* See the Anti-Jacobin Review, for May 1800—who by arguments nearly ſimilar might ſupport the officers of the Inquiſition, or the executions of an *auto da fe*.

tertaining opinions bordering upon jacobiniſm.

One great inducement to idleneſs among the poor is ſaid to be, " the facility with which " voluntary contributions are raiſed during *every* " *temporary inconvenience*, ſuch as *a few weeks* " *froſt, or an extraordinary advance in the price* " *of proviſions*; alſo by *conſtantly cloathing* (and " educating) *upwards of ten thouſand children.* " Every inſtitution which tends to make the " poor depend on any other ſupport than their " induſtry does great diſſervice, as it induces " a falſe dependence in the parents, and either " cauſes a relaxation in induſtry, or increaſes " the means for frequenting public houſes."

If partial miſconduct, or trivial deviations from eſtabliſhed rules, were to be admitted as objections to the ſupport of charitable inſtitutions (among which that of free ſchools ſtands moſt prominent) there would ſoon be an end of their exiſtence. It is acknowledged, by him, that they have their uſe, but might be rendered more ſo if ſupported by other means than they are at preſent.

The

The means propoſed to alter the preſent mode is, a tax for raiſing an annual fund for the ſupport of free ſchools. Whatever public benefits have been derived from thoſe inſtitutions, and they are many, they originated in philanthropy, and this ſpirit has by no means diminiſhed. But if that which is voluntary were to be made compulſive, in addition to the other impoſts upon the public, that munificence which is *now beſtowed chearfully*, would be conſidered burthenſome, and although it might increaſe the number of inſtitutions, would reduce the amount of voluntary donations and charitable endowments.

A plan, propoſing any mode of inſtruction whereby children of the poor might become more beneficial to the public, and uſeful to themſelves, would be worthy of attention, perhaps none more ſo than that which has been noticed, viz. the making them acquainted with the laws to which they owe obedience; as well as with their divine and moral duties.

In all ſeminaries the genius and capacity of youth ſhould be conſidered; and when any particular

particular talents are conſpicuous, they ſhould be cultivated. It is a narrow-minded principle to check a riſing genius, or not to give encouragement to diſtinguiſhed abilities, by laying any reſtraint upon their advancement in education: it is placing children ſomewhat in the ſituation of animals that are reſerved only for our uſe or ſhew.

This author ſays, "The labourers in this "country are ruined in their morals and conſti-"tution by public houſes." A juſtice of peace cannot, in any ſingle branch of his office, ſerve his neighbourhood more effectually than by paying a rigid attention to the conduct of theſe ſort of houſes, many of them being the rendezvous of corruption and debauchery. But from too ſtrict an application of power, under the cloak and colour of moral good, may flow many pernicious conſequences. While the profeſſed purpoſe is to feed the poor man, the intention is to abridge his enjoyments.

If the condition of the poor was viewed in general, in the ſame light which it is done by ſome men, what between their ſhews and their

ruſtic games, they would be ſuppoſed to keep holiday the year round, and the timorous would be ſcared out of their wits at the conſtant ſcenes of idleneſs which the country exhibits. By ſome, the may-pole in a village, would be magnified into the tree of liberty; and the ſound of the tabor would be conſidered as alarming as the call of ſedition. But thoſe implements of organization have, in many places, been removed, by that energy which, according to the author of the "Treatiſe" we are ſo deficient in, and the timid mind is relieved from the apprehenſion of danger.

If we were to turn our eyes to the condition of the ſame rank of people in other countries, we ſhall find greater indulgence allowed to their amuſements than in this; for in no other place do they labour under ſuch controul in their pleaſures, or where ſuch war is waged againſt their recreations.

The reſort of a labouring man to a public houſe for refreſhment or information, is held out by ſome as a moſt criminal act; but ſuch an opinion cannot be juſtified. The labouring man

man has as much right to reſort to a public houſe, as thoſe in a ſuperior ſituation of life have to frequent taverns and coffee-houſes; the very inſtitution of theſe houſes was for the accommodation of travellers, and the order of people who are here condemned for approaching them. The danger ariſes from the abuſe, not the uſe of them. Was the queſtion to hang upon deciding in which of the two places moſt depravity, diſſipation, and other evils were practiſed, it could not be long before a determination would take place. It is true, from the nature of their ſituations, the irregularities of the one are more manifeſt than the vices of the other.

To increaſe the alarm of danger it is aſſerted that, " The fields near London are *never* free " from men ſtrolling about in pilfering pur- " ſuits by day; and committing greater crimes " by night. The depredations every Sunday " are aſtoniſhingly great; on *that day* the far- " mers' fields are plundered all day long of " fruit, roots, cabbages, pulſe, and corn." The damages, he ſays, at a moderate eſtimate, are *twenty thouſand buſhels every Sunday morning!!*

and *ten thouſand more* during the other *ſix days;* which, upon his very ſmall valuation, amounts to the ſum of *thirty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds annually*, winter and ſummer, more than *ſeven hundred pounds per week!!!*

This calculator of injuries done to the cultivated lands in England, by *two legged animals*, he eſtimates at eight millions *per annum;* and including injuries by other *game and vermin*, he fixes at near twenty millions. Such eſtimates muſt not be diſputed, when given by one who has calculated from the profits of a green-ſtall to the expences of a ſuit in chancery.

The author of the " Treatiſe, " has introduced a long deſultory quotation from his friend's book, concerning the tranſactions in a *cow-houſe;* but, as the digreſſions, which he ſo frequently enters into upon various occaſions, cannot be admitted here, he muſt be left to enjoy his coincidence of opinion with him.

In his purſuit for reducing the number of crimes, he has been very elaborate in pointing out

out the cauſe which give riſe to them. Among thoſe, he very juſtly aſſerts GAMING to be a leading one. In his relation of many circumſtances that have come within his knowledge, and which cannot be diſputed, too many melancholy truths are related: and too much credit cannot be given to him for exhibiting the information he has acquired. At the ſame time that it points out the nefarious practices of thoſe who are ſupported by it, it exhibits the folly and wickedneſs of the votaries to this vice.

The moſt dangerous (becauſe the moſt general) branch of this pernicious practice, is the exiſtence of offices for taking illegal inſurances in the lottery. Many of the modes practiſed by theſe plunderers of the indigent he points out: and ſeveral plans for the prevention, or at leaſt reducing the extent of it, he has diſcuſſed at great length.

Although the number of perſons (particularly deſcribed as attached to this vice) is probably much exaggerated, the evil it occaſions among

among them is incalculable. In order to check its progreſs among menial and other ſervants, he propoſes " an aſſociation of maſ-" ters and heads of families, who ſhall promiſe " and enjoin to make it an expreſs condition " with all ſervants employed by them, whe-" ther male or female, that gaming in the lot-" tery, by means of inſurance, ſhould ſubject " them to an immediate diſcharge, *and the* " *forfeiture of a certain portion of their wages.*" Whether ſuch a meaſure, under the name of a *regulation*, would be either juſt, humane, or politic, his own calculations might determine, when he ſays " there are ſeldom leſs than *ten* " *thouſand ſervants* of both ſexes, *at all times*, " out of place in the metropolis."

Such a meaſure, reduced to practice, muſt increaſe the number of the idle and diſolute, for want of being employed:—diſtreſs, by having withheld from them the ſmall, and perhaps, only pittance, which was their due by induſtry:—and deſpair, at being unable to procure a character, neceſſary to reinſtate them in ſociety.

So

So far as the *regulation* is intended to extend to the members of *friendly ſocieties*, if carried into effect, the injuries that muſt be ſuſtained cannot readily be conceived. If the author had known by what means thoſe ſocieties are upheld, he never would have ſuggeſted ſuch a remedy. By its operation all ſocieties of that deſcription would be amazingly thinned every lottery, and thoſe who were the delinquents would ſuffer the leaſt.

He ought to have known that the fund ariſing for the ſupport of them, not unfrequently proceeds from the induſtry of a frugal and provident woman, who by many ſelf-denials of comforts is enabled, and under the neceſſity of advancing the money for an improvident huſband: and foreſeeing what muſt be the conſequence of his ſickneſs, or death, is careful to preſerve ſome reſource to prevent herſelf and family from ſtarving. It would be puniſhing the ſins of the father upon the wife and children. It would be forcing the ſociety to execute a degree of puniſhment upon an individual, for an offence, in which the ſociety itſelf had received no injury.

jury. This may be looked upon in the ſame light as a ſchoolmaſter, who ſhould puniſh his ſcholars for offences committed out of ſchool, when he could have no controul over them.

Another great cauſe of the increaſe of crimes, is ſaid to ariſe from the *deficiency* in, and bad execution of, the laws. The firſt of theſe he has taken great pains to point out; for the ſecond, he has aſſigned as a reaſon, "the want "of a proper ſyſtem of police." Adding, alſo, that "indigence may be conſidered as a "principal cauſe of the increaſe of crimes; "offences of every deſcription have their "origin in the vicious and immoral habits of "the people, *particularly in vulgar life.*"

That crimes originate and increaſe from the vicious and immoral habits of the people, is a certain truth: but that vice and immorality are more conſpicuous in the lower orders of life, than in thoſe of ſuperior ſituations, may ſafely be denied. It is a truth that ſmall offenders, and their miſconduct, are held up to public view more frequently than thoſe of the higher orders; but many of their vicious habits, and much

much of their immoral conduct, ariſe from want of *proper example* and *education*, which thoſe in a more elevated ſtation of of life cannot plead in excuſe for their errors.

" The improvident, and even the luxurious * " mode of living, which prevails too generally " among the lower ranks in the metropolis, " leads to much miſery and many crimes." The want of a timely forecaſt generally brings inconvenience, and ſometimes miſery: this is experienced in every ſtation of life. But that luxury is juſtly laid to their charge, may be diſputed. The luxurious manner of *their* living, in ſeveral other inſtances, the author has noticed; but his obſervations are too puerile and frivolous to deſerve any ſerious attention.

* The author of the Treatiſe, in ſupport of this opinion aſſerts, that " the *chief conſumption* of oyſters, crabs, lobſters, pickled ſalmon, " &c. when firſt in ſeaſon, and when the prices are high, is by the " *loweſt* claſſes of the people." If the author had known what other luxuries the poor indulged in, as eating ⋈ Buns on a *Good* Friday, or Twelfth Cake at Chriſtmas, they would not have been forgot; but as thoſe *cuſtoms* are not practiſed in that part of the country where fanaticiſm prevails over ſuperſtition, he might be unacquainted with them. It may be a pleaſing ſatisfaction to him to perceive, (perhaps by his good offices) that the inconveniences he complains of, have been removed; as thoſe luxuries are all placed out of the reach of the *lower* rank of people long ſince.

That voluptuouſneſs, diſſipation, luxury, and immorality, increaſe with the wealth of a nation, is incontrovertible; and that to the introduction of them many nations owe their downfal, hiſtory furniſhes us with examples. On the increaſe of wealth, and the flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce of the country, at this time, the author has paſſed an eulogium; and he has taken great pains to prove it from regular ſtatements. Whatever have been the advantages ariſing to ſome individuals by the increaſe of commerce, and the opulence derived from it, it is certain that the diſtreſs of the middling and lower claſs of people has accumulated in proportion.

The author is very particular in deſcribing the articles which conſtitute the luxuries of the lower orders, without which the public would have been at a loſs to have gueſſed what they were; but that having been done, it is proper and neceſſary to exhibit *ſome* of the luxuries of the higher ranks.

Beſide the enjoyment of every neceſſary of life

life that nature produces, and opulence can purchaſe, when ſatiated by them they fly for a change to the buffoonery, immorality, and indecency exhibited by exotics. Whoever contemplates the extravagant encouragement given to them for ſtanding on tip-toe, or making a long elbow, a few nights in a ſeaſon; when it is conſidered that a ſum, not leſs than *fifteen hundred guineas* each, and carried out of the country, is given to a madame *Bantling*, madame *Spindlebottom*, a ſignior *Incorrigible*, &c. &c. for ſervices ſo important, we muſt admit there is either too much wealth, or too little juſtice done to native merit in the Britiſh nation.

If ſuch amuſements for a particular claſs of ſociety are neceſſary (and it is admitted *politically*) why not give more encouragement to the natives of this country, who are known to excel in ſuperior abilities to thoſe for which theſe exotics are entertained. But *refined luxury* having no object in view but voluptuouſneſs, and the gratification of ſenſual pleaſures, it is

not to be wondered at that every quarter of the world is made ſubſervient to it.

It has been ſaid by thoſe who are intereſted in ſcenes of diſſipation and folly, that without ſuch means for the circulation of property, trade and manufactures would ſtagnate: but will thoſe who have more knowledge of the preſent diſtreſs of the people here ſaid to be benefited, agree with them?—No. The fact is contrary to the aſſertion.

If immorality has increaſed in the lower claſſes of life, it is but in a ſmall proportion to the higher orders. Was there ever a time before the preſent, when the voluptuaries of pleaſure ever made it a regular ſyſtem to advertiſe a weekly round of diſſipation—to ſend to an office, a regular rotine of follies (to ſay nothing worſe of them) and oſtentatious pride.

The following liſt of one week's entertainment in the *faſhionable world*, muſt exhibit to what an extravagant pitch luxury has arrived, among thoſe who ſeem unmindful of, or turn a deaf ear to the preſſing wants of others.

FASHIONABLE

FASHIONABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WEEK.

MONDAY, JUNE 2.

Lady Le D———'s Muſic Party.
Lady P———'s Card Party.
Lady B—'s & Mad. C—'s Card Party.
Lady J——'s Dinner.
Mrs S———'s Rout.
Counteſs of C——'s Rout.
Miſs S———'s Rout.
Mrs. C———'s Rout.
Mrs. B———'s Rout.

TUESDAY.

Lady L———'s Card Party.
Mrs. L———'s Public Breakfaſt.
Mrs. B———'s Rout.

WEDNESDAY.

Lady S—— B's Public Breakfaſt.
Lord H———'s ditto.
Lady D—— and W——'s ditto.
Mrs. C———'s Rout.
Mrs. H———'s Muſic Party.
Mrs. V———'s Card Party.

THURSDAY.

D—eſs D—ger of Ch——s's Rout.
Counteſs of R———'s Muſic Party.
Mrs T———'s Rout.
Lady R———'s Dinner.
Mrs. P———'s Rout.
Mrs. F———'s Rout.
Mrs. M———'s Dinner.

FRIDAY.

D——eſs of G——'s Ball.
Lady D——y & W——'s Maſquerade.
Lady R———'s Muſic Party.
Mrs. H———'s Rout.

SATURDAY.

Mrs. V———'s Rout.

Public exhibitions of diſſipation, folly, and extravagance, muſt be obſerved with indignation by thoſe who are not loſt to every ſenſe of virtue and philanthropy. It would not be an exaggerated calculation to ſay, that at one of theſe aſſemblages for one evening, where two hundred perſons are preſent, there is more expence and waſte of the neceſſary comforts of life, than would ſupport two thouſand for a whole day at the other end of the metropolis, who are literally ſtarving *

The modern refinements of *polite life*, by publiſhing ſuch ſcenes of diſſipation, are extremely injurious; it is dangerous to tantalize diſtreſs and indigence. However neceſſary it may be to preſerve and keep diſtinct the ſeveral orders of ſociety, thoſe in an elevated ſituation are but one link of that band which unites the whole, and forms the general character.

To thoſe who are in continual habits of vice, virtue is contemptible. But it ſhould be conſidered,

* Colquhoun's Treatiſe, Page 313.

ſidered, that if the virtue of a nation is once loſt, it never returns. A drooping commerce may revive—manufactures after a ſuſpenſion may be re-animated and flouriſh—a decayed trade may recover the effects of a temporary decline—but its character for virtue, if once corrupted, will be for ever profligate. The people of England were once virtuous and proſperous;—their proſperity grew out of their virtue.

Mr. Colquhoun laments the ſituation of magiſtrates, who are unable, for the want of a public purſe, to reward thoſe who may be active in apprehending daring offenders, or others who may bring *uſeful information*; he places them "in the ſituation of a perſon "pledged to work without tools or imple-"ments." With reſpect to encouragement given for apprehending deſperate offenders, the law has not only fixed large pecuniary rewards * but has alſo particularly protected them in ſuch undertakings; in addition to which,

* The expence paid by the public as rewards for ſuch ſervice, in the ſpace of twelve years, from 1786, to 1797, incluſive, was *ninety-four thouſand, four hundred and thirty pounds* See the Report of the Select Committee on Finance. It is very wiſely noticed, that when there are no thieves to apprehend (which is to be the effect of the propoſed plan) the expence will be very much leſſened.

which, the parties injured often increaſe the rewards as a ſtimulus to exertion of thoſe perſons, who have no idea of public juſtice further than it tends to their intereſts. Magiſtrates being poſſeſſed of an unlimited fund for the encouragement of common informers, their numbers would be increaſed, and conſequently the public burthens; as well as additional inſults, trouble, and expence to the community, which often ariſes from the general conduct of ſuch miſcreants.

Under the appearance of regulating the vices and irregularites of *low life*, and puniſhing or preventing offences, it is propoſed there ſhould be a controul board of police, (under the title of "the board of police revenue") whoſe profeſſed functions are "to ſuperintend the "ſeveral claſſes of dealers, who are propoſed to "be licenſed, from whom a new ſource of re-"venue is to be raiſed."

This board is ſaid to have two great objects in view, "the prevention of crimes, and collection of a revenue;" at the ſame time to be a check upon certain "perſons occupied in trades

"or

" or profeſſions, in their nature calculated to " give facility to the commiſſion of crimes." It is ſaid the number of perſons neceſſary to be licenced exceed forty-thouſand; the revenues from which are to be applied in ſupporting the dignity and efficacy of this board of controul, and other police purpoſes.

Theſe revenues are to ariſe from making additional impoſts upon ſome, and new taxes upon others; with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions as the board ſhall think fit and proper to decree, by having an unlimited power to grant licences for, or to prevent the carrying on certain manufactures, profeſſions, or callings.

The manufacturers, dealers, &c. which are to be the objects of this Board of Police Revenue are theſe:

EXISTING REVENUES.	No. of Perſons to be regiſtered.	Expected Income, Groſs.
		£.
1ſt. Hackney Coaches and Chairs	1,400	28,000
2d. Hawkers and Pedlars	2,000	13,000
3d. Dealers in Horſes	200	3,000
4th. Pawnbrokers, having an additional Licenſe as Saleſmen of unredeemed Pledges and Old Metals, £10 more in Town, and £5 in the Country.	650	10,000
		£. 54,000

NEW REVENUES,

As ſuggeſted by Mr. Colquhoun *to the Committee on Finance.*

			£.
5th. Perſons licenſed to keep Houſes for ſlaughtering Horſes and other Animals,* for other Purpoſes than for Butchers Meat, under the Act 26th Geo. III. cap. 71. eſtimated to produce, at a Licence Duty of £.10 - - - - - - N°	100	£.1,000	
6th. Perſons keeping Livery Stables, or letting out Horſes for Hire, a Licence Duty of 1s. 6d. each Stall, preſumed to yield -	7,000	10,500	11,500
7th. Dealers in Old Naval Stores for inferior Uſes, and not for making Paper -	1,800	London £.5. Country 50s.	6,000
8th. Dealers in old Naval Stores, and Hand Stuff, for making Paper wholeſale -	1,500	London £.5. Country 50s.	5,000
9th. Dealers by Retail in Hand Stuff and Rags, for making Paper - - -	1,500	London 20s. Country 10s.	3,000
10th Dealers in Second-hand Wearing Apparel - - - - - - - - - -	8,000	London 30s. Country 15s.	10,000
11th Itinerant Dealers in Wearing Apparel - - - - - - - - - -	1,500	London 20s. Country 10s.	1,000
12th Wholeſale Dealers in Old Iron, and other Metals Second-hand - - -	1,500	London £.5. Country 50s.	5,000
13th Retail Dealers in Old Iron, and other Metals Second-hand - - - -	3,750	London 40s. Country 20s.	5,000
14th Manufacturers purchaſing Old Metals from unlicenſed Dealers - - -	4,500	London 40s. Country 20s.	6,000
15th Founders and other having and uſing Crucibles and Smelting Pots - -	1,500	London 40s. Country 20s.	1,000
16th Perſons keeping Draught Carts, for conveying Old Ship's Stores, Rags, Old Iron, and other Metals - -	750	London £.5. Country 50s.	2,500
17th Perſons keeping Truck Carts for the ſame Purpoſe - - - - - -	1,500	London 40s. Country 20s.	2,000
18th Auctioners, an Additional Duty to bring them under Regulations -	3,000	£.2.	6,000
		† Total - £.	64,000

* It is ſaid to have been originally propoſed, that thoſe who ſlaughtered Dogs and ſkead them, ſhould come within the deſcription of the Act.

† In addition to the former Perſons to be licenſed, it is recommended by Mr. Middleton, to place the Milk Carriers under the ſame reſtriction.

The creating new offices, and conſequently multiplying the number of officers, ſhould always be viewed with jealouſy; as entailing certain expence, frequently with very little or any advantage but what may be derived from a proper modification of exiſting ones.

In order to carry the wiſhes and ideas of this author into effect, he propoſes a bill to be brought into parliament with a view of obtaining a legiſlative authority. If ſo, and it ſhould be adopted, being a public Act where the enacting clauſes cannot operate effectively without manifeſt injury to thouſands employed in various branches of manufactures and trade, it is the intereſt as well as duty of every individual who is liable to its influence, to conſider every one of the clauſes in the bill ſeparately, eſpecially ſo far as relates to themſelves. The principle of it may be more ably diſcuſſed in another place.

If perſons of the above deſcription are to be licenſed, inſtead of putting down ſpecific numbers, they might continue to ſet down *ad infinitum*; and unleſs the whole were ſet down

one part would be much oppreſſed. It is impoſſible to form any calculation on the numbers of thoſe who may be conſidered as retail dealers in ſeveral of the articles mentioned; to ſay nothing of the degraded ſituation it would place every wholeſale manufacturer in, to be under the power, and perhaps petulance of a vindictive magiſtrate, whoſe buſineſs might be ſtopt in a ſummary way, or harraſſed by trouble and expence, to the great detriment of his fortune, and the diſtreſs of ſeveral hundreds of poor manufacturing people in the country.

The practice of licenſing perſons to carry on the profeſſions they were brought up to, (no matter what their degree, or how much their abilities or property are engaged in their undertakings) implies a power of preventing, at pleaſure, the exerciſe of perſons' carrying on their uſual vocations. The power of licences, in this caſe, when carried into the effect intended by them, is to operate as an injunction at the pleaſure of thoſe by whom they were granted. If credit is to be given to the author's conjectures, injunctions muſt frequently be applied, and a conſiderable length of time muſt

muſt elapſe, before the parties ſuffering can have an opportunity of offering any thing in their juſtification, during which interval, in many inſtances, thouſands would be driven to the greateſt diſtreſs.

However the mind of the public may be prevailed upon to conſider the practice of licenſing and injunctions as a trivial concern, it has always been conſidered by great authorities (when put in force) as an extraordinary act of power, neceſſary only to be exerciſed upon occaſions, where much injury may be received by perſons who cannot have immediate relief by an appeal to the laws; or of a nature where the laws have not made any proviſion for a recompence. Where laws are made ſpecific, the penalties attached to the breach of them were formerly conſidered as a ſufficient puniſhment; an inſtance of which is upon record:

At a time when ſtamps were firſt impoſed upon newſpapers for the purpoſe of a revenue, a printer of ſome note, continued to print his paper without ſtamps, after the intention of the

the act was in operation, contrary to law. The Stamp office, in order to prevent a continuance of the practice, applied to the Chancellor for an injunction for that purpose; but the answer they received to their application was, "that upon such grounds he could not "comply with their request, as it was too "much for him to prevent any person from "following his usual business; but if the man "had done any thing contrary to the act, they "must sue him for the penalties to which he "was liable."

When government first had in contemplation the idea of granting licences to dealers, it was with a view to revenue only, and upon such persons as dealt in the luxuries, not the necessaries of life. It had not then the illiberal conception that traders were the promoters and encouragers of crimes in the pursuit of their professions. Nor did it entertain an idea of raising a revenue from the crimes of the people, whatever might be done with respect to their vices. This was reserved to be a modern improvement upon finance.

Upon

Upon an enquiry being made by the committee of finance into the general character of perſons under one deſcription before-mentioned, viz. the hawkers and pedlars, a commiſſioner in that office being aſked, " whether the office received any complaints reſpecting the conduct of perſons holding licences?"--It was anſwered, that " During the ten years he had been in " office, one inſtance had occurred of a perſon " having being *complained* of as being a thief, " and in conſequence his licence was refuſed " a renewal the next year."

When it was in contemplation ſome few years back either to annihilate the profeſſion, or lay a double duty upon them for increaſing the revenue, it was given in teſtimony by ſeveral perſons of great reſpectability and opulence, that the occupation which they followed was one of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary that could be undertaken. That without ſuch perſons large manufactories could not be carried on to the extent and advantage they now are; as by their means a very great quantity of goods is vended in the country, and a ready market found for ſuch articles as folly and faſhion

faſhion had rejected in town.—Nor was this all, for it was alſo proved that their credit was as good as their profeſſion was uſeful; ſeveral of the perſons from whom they purchaſed their goods, making a declaration that they would truſt them to the amount of many thouſands of pounds.

The extent in value of this numerous and uſeful body of people is not generally known, either in point of revenue or national benefit. It appears by the ſame authority before the committee, * that from the 5th of July, 1795, to the 5th of July, 1796, there were delivered at the office in London, three hundred and twenty-nine—and in the country, eleven hundred and fifty-eight licences, at four pounds for each foot licence, and eight pounds for a horſe licence. Nor can thoſe licences be obtained by any perſon but ſuch as produce certificates, ſigned by the clergyman and two reſpectable houſekeepers to the pariſh where they uſually reſide, bearing teſtimony of their good character.

Some other branches of trade perhaps of more

* See the Report of the Committee on Finance, on the Hawkers and Pedlars Office.

more benefit and reſpectability, from the manner and to the extent which they are carried on, having been included in the general charge of ſuſpicious characters *likely to commit* (or encourage) *offences*, muſt excite indignation in thoſe to whom ſuch invidious inſinuations are levelled; and if no oppoſition has been offered to confute them, it is either from their not being known, or from an opinion that they would not gain credit as to their veracity, with perſons not prejudiced againſt them.

The author of the Treatiſe, after having pointed out the deficiencies of the laws, and the reaſon why thieves are permitted to exiſt, notices another obſtacle, which although one of the laſt in his book is not the leaſt in its conſequences. He ſays, " next to the want of a " *ſufficient* pecuniary fund, *the moſt obvious de-* " *ficiency in the preſent ſyſtem of executive police* " *in the metropolis, is that which regards the ma-* " *giſtracy of the city of London.*—The magiſ- " trates of the city of London form a body " *perhaps* the moſt reſpectable and indepen- " dent of any in the world." Speaking of

 them

them as men he could not ſay leſs. Speaking of them as magiſtrates, there are but few places where judicial powers are executed with equal integrity or more ability; oftentimes acquired by a long local reſidence. Their advanced ſituation, and the great truſt repoſed in them, ariſing from their reſpectability, and the eſteem in which they are held by their fellow citizens.

After pointing out methods for removing the impediments which prevent what he calls a proper energy in offices of the police, he ſays, "The only difficulty that now remains "*to be removed* is that which regards the CITY "of LONDON; where conſiderable inconveni-"encies and injuries to the public are felt, "from the *police magiſtrates having no authority* "to apprehend perſons charged with offences "in the city." This inconvenience to the public, of police magiſtrates not being permitted to exerciſe *their power* within the limits of the city, he reduces to "*a mere* "*matter of punctillio*, founded on *ill-grounded* "*jealouſy*, which *a little explanation would* "*probably*

probably remove." * This *little explanation* remains yet to be explained.

The inconveniencies and injuries the public are ſaid to ſuſtain from police magiſtrates not having authority to apprehend perſons charged with offences in the city, is an opinion without foundation, ſo much ſo, that upon application they not only readily receive every aſſiſtance for the purpoſe, but meet with every encouragement the nature of the caſe may require. If the offence is of a public nature no ſpecific authority can be wanted, as it is the duty of every individual to prevent or endeavour to bring to juſtice, every offender, and for which the city gives the utmoſt encouragement. If it is of a private nature, aſſiſtance is always afforded to the officers of juſtice whenever applied for.

The fact is, that magiſtrates unknown to the citizens of London, have *taken upon themſelves* to exerciſe their official authority within the liberties and juriſdiction of the city, in *violation of chartered rights;* and have publicly inſulted thoſe whoſe duty and inclination it ever

* See the original Report.

has been to render ſecurity and protection to their fellow-citizens. That ſuch conduct has not eſcaped their notice, is evident from the reſolutions unanimouſly paſſed when convened as a general body, for maintaining their own dignity and ſupporting the privileges of the corporation, to the following effect:

GLYNN, MAYOR.

AT a Court of Aldermen, held on Tueſday, the 15th Day of January, 1799, and in the Thirty-ninth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, of Great Britain, &c.

Reſolved, That all Offences committed within the City of London againſt the Public Peace by Perſons reſident, or apprehended therein, are cognizable *only by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, in their capacity of Juſtices.* And that this Court will conſider the future interference on ſuch occaſions of the magiſtrates of any other place as an infringement of the Privileges of the City, and highly indecorous.

RIX.

COMBE, MAYOR.

AT a Court of Aldermen, held on Tueſday, the 22d April 1800, and in the fortieth year of the Reign of King George the Third, of Great Britain, &c.

Reſolved unanimouſly,—That the Thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for having communicated a Letter written by his Lordſhip to Sir William Addington, Nicholas Bond, and Richard Ford, Eſqrs. complaining of the Magiſtrates of Bow-ſtreet having improperly interfered with the Magiſterial duties of the City Magiſtrates; and alſo the anſwers returned by Mr. Ford and Mr. Bond, the former of which is perfectly ſatisfactory; while this Court deem Sir William Addington's ſilence on the ſubject diſreſpectful to the Chief Magiſtrate and this Court.

RIX.

In order to eſtabliſh a juriſdiction in the city of London by foreign magiſtrates, the author recommended to the Committee on Finance his plan for introducing ſtationary juſtices of the peace, thoſe who uſually exerciſe their functions in the *four counties*, *Weſtminſter*, and for the *Tower Liberty*, for the purpoſe of acting as *Aſſiſtant Magiſtrates* to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. For preventing ſuch a plan from being carried into effect, ſome difficulties would ariſe which might not have been foreſeen when it was adoped, although not unknown to thoſe who offered it.

Any magiſtrate being impoſed upon the citizens of London contrary to the uſual practice, eſtabliſhed by royal charters, and in many inſtances confirmed by parliamentary authority, might very juſtly be conſidered as a violation of privileges belonging to the corporation, and calculated to anſwer no good purpoſe but what might be attained without ſuch innovations.

The election of their own magiſtrates by the citizens of London is one of their moſt prominent privileges, confirmed to them by many

many ſolemn charters during the ſpace of more than ſix hundred years; the firſt of thoſe in the reign of Henry I. (which was in addition to others) particularly ſays:

"Know ye, that I have granted to my "CITIZENS OF LONDON to hold Middleſex "to farm; ſo that the ſaid citizens ſhall "place as ſheriff whom they will of them-"ſelves; and ſhall place whomſoever, or "ſuch a one as they will of themſelves, for "keeping of the pleas of the crown, and of "the pleading of the ſame, and *none other* "*ſhall be juſtice over the ſame men of Lon-*"*don*; and the citizens of London *ſhall not* "*plead without the walls of London* for any "plea. And if any of the citizens ſhall be "impleaded concerning the pleas of the crown "the man of London ſhall diſcharge himſelf "by his oath, which ſhall be adjudged within "the city—And the citizens of London may "have their chaces to hunt, as well and fully "as their anceſtors have had, that is to "ſay, in the Chiltney, and in Middleſex and "Surry."

By

By this valuable charter, the citizens had not only their ancient cuſtoms and immunities confirmed to them, but likewiſe the county of Middleſex added to their juriſdiction: with a power of not only appointing a ſheriff, but alſo a juſticiary from among themſelves. The conceſſion of Middleſex to the city was to prevent that county's being any longer an aſylum for bankrupts, cheats and other fraudulent perſons; and who having deſerted London with the goods and effects of their creditors, were wont to live there ſecurely in impunity, and in open defiance of the injured.

The foregoing charter was afterwards confirmed to the citizens by King John, Ann. 1199, in the following words, "And further we "have granted to the citizens of London, "that they amongſt themſelves make ſheriffs "whom they will, and may remove them when "they will.—Wherefore we will and ſtead-"faſtly command, that the citizens of London "and their heirs may hold the ſheriffwick of "London and Middleſex, with all things to "the ſaid ſheriffwick belonging, of us and "our heirs, to poſſeſs and enjoy hereditarily, freely

" freely and quietly, honourably and wholly,
" by fee ſarm of three hundred pounds."

By this charter the citizens of London have the fee-farm of the ſheriffwick of London and Middleſex confirmed to them at the ancient rent, with the additional power of chuſing their own ſheriffs.

About the year 1227, King Henry III. by his ſecond charter not only confirmed all the former ones, but granted them the privilege of chuſing their chief magiſtrate, and the manner in which it ſhould be done, *viz*:

" Know ye, that we have granted, and by
" this preſent charter confirmed to our barons
" in our city of London, that they may chuſe
" to themſelves a mayor of themſelves every
" year, who may be to us faithful, diſcreet,
" and fit for the government of the City, ſo
" as, when he is choſen, he may be preſented
" unto us, or our juſtices, if we be not preſent,
" and ſhall ſwear to be faithful to us: And
" that it ſhall be lawful for them in the end
" of the year to remove him, and to ſubſtitute,

" or,

" or, if they will, to retain him ſtill." And further by a ſubſequent charter, " Alſo we " have granted to the ſaid citizens, that every " mayor whom they ſhall chuſe in our city of " London, (We being not at Weſtminſter) " they may yearly preſent to the barons of our " exchequer, that he may be admitted by them " as mayor." By this charter an additional privilege was granted to the citizens; whereby they, in the abſence of the king, may preſent their new mayor to the barons of the exchequer yearly; whereas formerly they were obliged to repair to the king's reſidence, in any part of England, to preſent their chief magiſtrate.

Of ſuch conſequence was the preſervation of theſe charters and the reſpectability of its magiſtracy, that after they had been ſuſpended for ſome time (a meaſure frequently reſorted to by needy princes) and the Government of the City of London, with all the revenues thereunto belonging, beſtowed upon prince Edward, king Henry's eldeſt ſon—upon the humble petition of the citizens to the prince, and covenanting to pay him a ſum of money,

Edward ſold them his right thereunto, and was ſo well pleaſed at their deportment, that he became their advocate to the king, for the reſtoration of their ancient rights and privileges, particularly that of electing their magiſtrates, which he obtained, and they immediately choſe their own mayor and ſheriffs, and the prince did the City the diſtinguiſhed honour of preſenting them to the king at Weſtminſter.

Theſe charters were afterwards confirmed in the ſubſequent reigns of Edward I. Edward III. Richard II. Edward IV. and in almoſt every ſucceeding reign till the 25th George II.

In the year 1475, by an act of common council, the election of mayor and ſheriffs was confined to the maſter, wardens, and liveries of the City corporation. But the right of electing local magiſtrates, aldermen for each ward, ſtill continues in the inhabitants at large, reſident in ſuch diſtricts—being freemen.

The author of the Treatiſe informs the public that he has long ſince offered a bill for the ſanction of the legiſlature to regulate the general

neral police of the country; he likewiſe ſays, "it is not propoſed to introduce any thing re- "ſpecting the city of London, unleſs the con- "ſent of the lord mayor, aldermen, and com- "mon council ſhall be previouſly obtained." What the contents of the bill may be, or what the new laws it is to eſtabliſh, are not generally known; but from ſome of the principles exhibited by the propoſer, nothing favourable to the citizens of London may be expected.

By making ſuch an application he thinks himſelf intituled to their approbation. Should ſuch a propoſition take place, it would be no ſmall degree of inſult to them individually and collectively, to ſanction an infringement of the rights belonging to the citizens at large, for the preſervation of which they are intruſted. But ſhould *it in any ſhape*, be countenanced, (which is by no means probable) would the citizens themſelves acquieſce in it tacitly?

To make ſuch an application palatable, he propoſes that the magiſtrates of the city of London, ſhall be impowered to act as ſuch

in the adjoining counties. By this he ſays, "privileges would be given, but none taken "away" It may however be queſtioned what privileges would be obtained by the citizens of London, or what favour would be done to their magiſtrates by impoſing additional duties upon them, when they are already burthened (according to his ſtatement) with more than they can properly diſcharge. It might indeed be an indulgence to thoſe who are fond of the exerciſe of power.

Viewing the difference of the times, and the increaſed burthens of the chief magiſtrate, the propoſed plan of eſtabliſhing an office for the purpoſe *only* of adjuſting all criminal matters ſeems very well calculated; but to ſuppoſe that the citizens of London are not capable of judging who are moſt proper for ſuch a ſituation, either in their corporate or individual capacities, muſt be conſidered as a mean reflection, calculated to promote private intereſt and an increaſe of power.

If therefore the plan for eſtabliſhing ſuch an office ſhould be neceſſary for the furtherance of public

public juſtice, and the relief of magiſtrates in their adopted municipal duties, it appears not very difficult to ſelect from the very reſpectable body now preſiding in that ſituation, *three* (for more might be unneceſſary) who would diſcharge thoſe ſervices with great benefit to the public and honor to themſelves. As a remuneration is propoſed to be given to thoſe gentlemen for their increaſed duties, which muſt ariſe from the corporation, experience having proved how deficient every propoſed means has been in other police offices,* they ſhould have the power of pointing out the line of duty expected, and a power alſo to enforce the due performance of it for the benefit of the public.

Such an inſtitution appears extremely neceſſary, particularly for relief of the chief magiſtrate, who cannot, while an immenſe load of municipal duties, joined to his own private concerns, preſs conſtantly upon his mind, beſtow that time and attention neceſſary to conſider the caſes of the parties brought before him charged with acts of delinquency.

Speaking

* See the Committee's Report on Police, exhibiting the amount of expences of each police office.

Speaking of the particular duties attached to the office of chief magiſtrate, he ſays, "Hurried with conſtant engagements, inſe-"parable from the functions and dignity at-"tached to his high office, the lord mayor is "juſt beginning to underſtand the duties at the "period when he muſt lay it down." This is the preciſe caſe of a parochial officer—but not ſo with the chief magiſtrate, who muſt have been ſeveral years in the exerciſe of his magiſterial authority prior to his being called upon to ſerve in ſo elevated a ſtation, he there-fore cannot be ſuppoſed to be totally ignorant of the additional duties that are attendant upon it.

In a former part of the Treatiſe the author has given ſeveral eſtimates (ſome of which he calls melancholy ones) for the purpoſe of elu-cidating in ſome degree the extent of profligacy and wickedneſs: but at the ſame time he in-forms his readers they are given as mere cal-culations, for the purpoſe of arreſting the at-tention of his readers. As they are given in order to alarm the timid mind with apprehen-ſions of danger, the accuracy of them ought to be aſcertained with ſome degree of certainty,

as they might be liable to the ſuſpicion of exaggeration.

In one of thoſe eſtimates he has particularized the number and profeſſions of thoſe by whom ſmall offences are committed; and, according to his calculation, there are not leſs than *one hundred and fifteen thouſand* who are ſupported daily by arts either criminal, illegal, diſſolute, vicious, or depraved. How a perſon can give any thing like a fixed rule for the number of perſons who are ſupported by ſuch acts, in a metropolis like London, with any degree of certainty is doubtful: but it is much to be feared he is very ſhort of the number if he was to include thoſe who have made fraud their ſtudy, and reduced it to a regular ſyſtem, which but few of the lower orders of people are capable of.

Thoſe perſons who are moſt dangerous, and whoſe offences are of greater magnitude, are thoſe chiefly connected with the higher orders of life, whoſe neceſſities brought on by extravagancies and diſſipation, compel them to apply for temporary relief to money lenders, for the

the uſe of gaming-tables, &c; panders * employed for ſeducing and betraying innocence into common brothels for proſtitution; and a variety of others, who under the pretence of law, impoſe upon the public by taking bribes to pervert the ſtreams of juſtice. †

After enumerating the number of perſons ſupported by acts of delinquency, he proceeds to give the amount in value of property plundered: this he eſtimates at *Two Millions* ſterling annually ariſing from the following articles:

	£.
By new and old iron and ſteel -	455,000
Pewter Pots - - - -	55,000
Small articles of glaſs, china, &c. -	100,000
Piece goods from ſhops and warehouſes	50,000
Wearing apparel, bed and table linen, &c.	40,000
Ship ſtores and tackling - - -	45,000
carried over £.	745,000

* Of this deſcription are many unſuſpected females, who gain an eaſy admiſſion into the company of the younger part of their ſex, and having diſcovered their leading paſſions, prompt their deſires by faſcinating allurements.

† The number of theſe beings have amazingly increaſed ſince the author's firſt publication.

	£.
Brought over	745,000
Silk, cotton, &c. embezzled by ſervants	10,000
Thefts on the River and Quays -	50,000
Eaſt India goods, and various other merchandize - - - - -	155,000
Thefts and frauds in his Majeſty's dock yards - - -	200,000
Burglaries, highway robberies, privately ſtealing; ſtealing of horſes, corn, potatoes, turnips, fruit, &c.	280,000
Frauds by baſe coinage, &c. -	310,000
Forgeries, &c. - - - - -	250,000
£.	2,000,000

The foregoing eſtimate he obſerves " muſt " exhibit a melancholy picture of the general " depravity which prevails, and will no doubt " aſtoniſh the reader, and even ſtagger his be- " lief" but they are mentioned to draw the attention of the public to ſhew how far his plan for eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of police is indiſpenſibly neceſſary.

From ſuch a character of this nation for general depravity, given by ourſelves, what muſt

be the ideas embraced by foreigners, who muſt conſider three parts out of the four of the inhabitants of the metropolis to be either paupers or thieves. Happily for the country experience has proved the contrary. There is no place in the world where merchants can carry their property with ſo much ſafety, nor be better protected by the laws, and the impartial manner in which they are executed, than in the city of London.

When it is conſidered the various and multifarious articles of merchandize that muſt at certain ſeaſons be expoſed to the depredations of pilferers, it is not to be wondered that the aggregate amount ſhould appear large; but as long as temptation is in the way, ſmall thefts will be continued; and the author may as well attempt to ſtop the torrent of corruption, as the practice of thieving by ſanguinary laws.

The author in a former part of his Treatiſe having noticed the dangerous effects ariſing from the *falſe mercy of juries*; he has likewiſe obſerved that much injuſtice is done to the public by the exerciſe of *falſe humanity* in not proſecuting

ſecuting offenders. He laments that after a perſon has been committed by a magiſtrate, *ſatisfied of his guilt and evidence to convict him*, various conſiderations operate by which he eludes the hand of juſtice. Among theſe is mentioned, "the careleſsneſs and inattention "of proſecutors," who may be unable or unwilling to proſecute; "and who fooliſhly and "weakly conſider themſelves as taking away "the life of a fellow-creature; falſe humanity "exerciſed in this manner, is always cruelty "to the public, and not ſeldom to priſoners "themſelves."

It is noticed by ſuch as are of a ſanguinary turn, or who are intereſted in criminal proſecutions, that it is the duty of every perſon to bring to juſtice, as far as they are able, thoſe who have violated the law, and under favourable circumſtances mercy might be obtained from another place; but it has been obſerved, that the ſmalleſt offenders are frequently the greateſt ſufferers by the vengeance of the law; in general they are the moſt deſtitute of friends, having none perhaps to ſolicit in their behalf. It might happen, that the injured party, know-

ing the cauſe, very humanely paſſes over a trifling offence; which relaxation from the rigid rules of juſtice ought not to be conſidered criminal; as by ſuch means many a uſeful member has been reſtored to ſociety, and conſequently become a benefit to the ſtate.

If ſuch a perſon had been delivered into the hands of ſome, who might be more rigid than prudent, in the exerciſe of their duty, he might have been committed to a loathſome priſon, where giving himſelf up to deſpair of ever regaining a character, perhaps till then irreproachable, he becomes contaminated by the vices there prevalent, and if *by any means* he procures his liberty, it is more than probable he may become a danger, inſtead of a benefit, to that ſociety of which he was once a uſeful member, and neglect the duties of a good huſband and a tender father.

Neceſſity, aggravated by tender feelings for an helpleſs family, may tempt a man of no very bad diſpoſition, to an act of injuſtice; but a ſingle bad act no more conſtitutes a villain in life, than a goaler might be called a murderer by

by the death of a priſoner, who (in the exerciſe of his duty to prevent a combination) ſhould through his means loſe his life.

It is to enquire into the proof of that guilt of which the magiſtrate has before been ſo well *ſatisfied*, that another tribunal is eſtabliſhed, the Grand Jury, before a priſoner is ſet to the bar as a criminal. It is one of the greateſt benefits a ſubject can enjoy; as well as one of the ſtrongeſt traits of wiſdom and humanity in the Britiſh Conſtitution. It has for its object, the enquiry into a charge of guilt againſt a perſon for which there may be little foundation, and upon this determination the perſon charged may be reſtored to his former ſituation in life with little or no injury; whereas, ſhould he be placed as a criminal at a public bar, if acquitted upon the moſt honourable terms, it would ever remain as a reproach upon his character.

When it is conſidered by the exiſting laws there are no leſs than One Hundred and Sixty offences that have been declared felonies, liable

to

to be punifhed with death! * among which, many are thought to be too fevere, and has occafioned that fine obfervation of a great man,† not fo much from a conviction of impropriety in their conduct, as the feverity of the laws which impofed a duty upon them contrary to the feelings of humanity and juftice. In conſequence of theſe ſevere laws, he obſerves, "The injured, through compaſſion, will often "forbear to profecute: Juries, through com- "paſſion, will ſometimes forget their oaths, "and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the "nature of their offence: And judges, through "compaſſion, will reſpite one half of the con- "victs, and recommend them to royal mercy." Which, although ſometimes attended with inconvenience to ſociety, paſſing over the deed, and looking to the intention, is highly praiſeworthy.

If every trifling offence was to meet with the punifhment which the law directs to be put in execution upon every conviction, dreadful

* Ruffhead's Index to the Statutes.

† Judge Blackſtone.

ful would be the ſtate of mankind; as no rank or elevation in life, no prudence or circumſpection of conduct, can inſure a perſon from falling into ſome offences, which without that *compaſſion to human infirmities* would lead to the moſt deplorable conſequences.

On the origin of CRIMES the author expreſſes himſelf, that "In contemplating the maſs of "turpitude which afflicts ſociety, it appears "that offences of every deſcription have their "origin in the facilities which the ſtate of "manners and ſociety, particularly in vulgar "life, afford in generating vicious and bad "habits. In tracing the progreſs of thoſe habits "which are peculiar to the lower orders of the "community, it will appear that *almoſt univerſal* "*profligacy prevails.*"

This concluſion the author draws from the practice of frequenting public houſes; where ſpeaking of the poor who make it their general reſort for ſupplying their immediate wants, he ſays, "*from their unfortunate habits*, to the "neceſſity of occupying a miſerable half-fur-"niſhed lodging from week to week, there is

"no

" no comfort at home—a ſuccedaneum is " found in the alehouſes—a common fire is " provided—and food and liquor is furniſhed " at an expence which ſeldom leaves any part " of the weekly earnings for cloaths or edu- " cation."

However prejudicial to ſociety the conduct of ſome public houſes may be, the charge of *univerſal profligacy* among the lower orders of people, who from neceſſity are obliged to make uſe of them, is not a juſt one. He mentions the cauſe, (although not in general ſtrictly true) and admits the reaſon why they are frequented. They are under the neceſſity of reſorting thither, and in a mixed multitude to partake of the common neceſſaries for ſupport, *viz.* victuals, drink, and firing, which the ſmall pittance of a weekly income at this time will not permit them to do ſeparately. In this practice he ſays originates moſt of the criminal offences.

Another cauſe of evil, he alledges, ariſes from maſters in buſineſs (not included in the former deſcription) who by *their habits* are " too generally led to public-houſes, where " no

" no inconſiderable proportion of *their earnings* " are expended." One danger of this practice (among others) is pointed out as a bad example to his apprentice, who drawing to the period by which means he will receive his enlargement, " he thinks it incumbent on him " to learn to *ſmoke*." As ſuch a concluſion muſt be felt by the parties to whom it is applied, no comment is neceſſary here.

" Another, perhaps the greateſt ſource of " delinquency and crimes, is to be attributed " to ill-regulated *public-houſes*; there is ſcarce " any moral evil by which ſociety is afflicted " —the mind debauched—the virtuous parent " and maſter diſtreſſed, and the ruin of fami- " lies and individuals effected, which is not " generated in public-houſes."

It has been already mentioned, that a juſtice of peace cannot, in any ſingle branch of his office, ſerve his neighbourhood more effectually than by paying attention to theſe ſort of houſes; but a general indiſcriminate cenſure upon the whole, is unbecoming any man who aſſumes the character of a philanthropiſt, who poſſeſſes a liberal mind, or whoſe labours is profeſſed to be for general good.

Where houſes of ſuch a deſcription are known to exiſt, the magiſtrate is culpable for neglect of duty, at leaſt, if they are permitted to continue longer than a reſpectable application is made to remove the nuiſance and danger. But they muſt be very little acquainted with the metropolis, not to know that evils of this deſcription have continued for a number of years, and to a very great extent, in the centre of it, and under the immediate obſervation of thoſe whoſe duty it was to remove them.

"The quantity of beer, gin, and compounds, "which is ſold in public-houſes in the me- "tropolis and its environs has been eſtimated, "at nearly *three millions, three hundred thou- "ſand pounds a year.*" * This eſtimate was made

* His calculation of the conſumption of the above articles, which he was enabled to form by a laborious inveſtigation, he ſtates to be as follow:

	£.	s.	d
158,400,580 POTS of Porter, Ale and Twopenny	2,311,466	15	10
Gin and Compounds - - - - - - - - - -	975,000	0	0
	3,286,466	15	10
To which is added Pipes and Tobacco, at leaſt -	113,533	4	2
† £.	3,400,000	0	0

Although there be foundation for the truth of the above calculation, they may have been introduced into his book for the ſame purpoſes as ſome others, *to arreſt the attention of his readers*; not only for information, but by entertaining them with ſtories; ſuch as *The Female Uſurer*; *The Watchman and the Thief*; *The German Spies*; *The French Aſſaſſins*, &c.

† There is a miſtake in the ſum total in the Author's book, of a trifling ſum of £. 100,000, but it ariſes from the wrong caſting.

made before the laſt advance upon the poor in thoſe articles; the application of the word poor is here mentioned, becauſe by thoſe who have the means of procuring other *ardent* ſpirits, the article of gin is ſeldom uſed.

Notwithſtanding the alarming circumſtance of ſuch an amazing quantity of liquors being conſumed, the proportion to each may be ſmall to moſt of them ſeparately, when it is conſidered (and it is melancholy to relate) that much of them are uſed as ſubſtitutes for more ſubſtantial nouriſhment. By ſuch temporary hilarity they are enabled to go through that laborious exerciſe which they *would* not perform without—by ſuch means thoſe whoſe vocations expoſe them to the inclemency of ſevere ſeaſons, *are enabled to endure them*—and by the moderate expence at which they were formerly obtained, they were capable of enjoying the comforts and company of a friend, as well as thoſe who drink wine, &c.

Under pretences of *regulating* the practice of drinking porter, beer, ale, or ſpirits, he propoſes that " additional duties ſhould be laid

" upon malt ſpirits, beer, and porter;" this he ſays, " would be an act of the greateſt hu- " manity." As the exceſſive uſe of liquors is a vice much to be regretted, though not to be prevented, is has been wiſely thought proper to make it one of the branches of the revenue to ſupport the exigences of the ſtate. It is a vice, although pernicious to individuals who are the objects of it, yet general in all countries, in ſome of which it is encourged to a far greater extent * than in this.

To thoſe who can remember the original price of thoſe articles, compared to what they are now, it muſt be obvious what advantages ariſe from them to the revenue, by the additional impoſts that have been laid upon them ſince their being firſt introduced into general uſe. Under colour of *moral good*, by checking the indulgencies of this kind in the *lower or-*

ders

* It is related by Dr. *Fletcher*, in his Travels through Ruſſia, that formerly it was one of thoſe barbarous arts which were uſed by the Czar to drain and oppreſs the people. In every great town the emperor had a drinking houſe, which he let out for rents, where the labourers and artificers were permitted to ſpend all their earnings, to the great diſtreſs of their families; and in this they were encouraged, no one being permitted to call them away, as it would hurt the emperor's revenue.

ders of people, it is evident much *political evil* muſt ariſe, as well as reſtraint from the uſe of thoſe articles, which at certain periods is abſolutely neceſſary.

As the author of the Treatiſe has given it as his opinion that it would be an act of great humanity to prevent the general uſe of liquors, it might have added to his philanthropy if he had recommended that humanity to have extended a little beyond the bounds of the metropolis, * but an enquiry into that might not ſo well have anſwered his purpoſe, or of thoſe with whom he might formerly have had connexions.

" There are other cauſes which contribute " to the origin and increaſe of crimes, the un- " happy females who ſupport themſelves by " proſtitution in this metropolis." This the author calls one of a " minor nature" If it was

* From the daily practiſe of ſome men, we might be led to conſider, what was a vice in one country is meritorious in another: elſe how is it to be found that the conſumption of ſpirits has been ſo much promoted abroad but for the encouragement given to it for carrying on the worſt of purpoſes, the dealing in human fleſh; it has been introduced among the poor Africans to accompliſh the views of deſigning and unprincipled men. It appears that in one year alone, *one hundred and eighty-four thouſand, eight hundred and ſixteen gallons* of Britiſh ſpirits were ſent to the Coaſt of Africa from the Port of Liverpool only.

was confidered to what dangers this evil expoſes the young and inexperienced, the feeling and obſerving man would regard it as one of an extraordinay magnitude, and which ought to be removed even ſooner than many beforementioned.

Among other calculations of the author he has given us a ſcale of the impurity of the metropolis; but of all other inveſtigations, this perhaps is the moſt difficult, and the reſult will at beſt be but a tolerable conjecture. *The whole*, he ſays, *may be eſtimated as follows:*

1. Of the claſs of Well Educated women it is earneſtly hoped the number does not exceed . .	2,000
2. Of the claſs compoſed of perſons above the rank of Menial Servants perhaps - - - - - - - -	3,000
3. Of the claſs who may have been employed as Menial Servants, or ſeduced in very early life, it is conjectured in all parts of the town - - - -	20,000
	25,000
4. Of thoſe in different ranks of Society, who live partly by Proſtitution, including the multitudes of low females, who cohabit with labourers and others without matrimony, there may be in all, in the Metropolis, about - - - - - - - - -	25,000
Total	50,000

Speaking

Speaking of the above, it muſt be conceived that he only alludes to thoſe who appear to live by public proſtitution It would be well if *they* were all. In the firſt claſs of thoſe he expreſſes an *earneſt hope* that they do not exceed the number ſpecified: the laſt claſs (by far the greateſt in number), he conſigns over to public view *without* expreſſing *any hope at all*. That the laſt claſs of theſe unfortunate females are as much intituled to pity as the former ones, there can be no doubt; if it was their misfortune to be borne of indigent parents, or in *vulgar life*, who could not give them a proper education, to enable them to judge of the value of virtue; or from their ſituation was liable to be drawn away by faſcinating allurements, and ſometimes promiſes ſtrengthened by perjuries, their practices are more excuſable (if any excuſe can be admitted) than thoſe of the former claſs, whoſe indiſcretions are frequently the effect of falſe education, pride, and ambition.

There is one practice among a claſs of people which is particularly noticed by the author, as a ſtrong proof of the general depravity

pravity and immorality which exiſts; this is, the "vaſt numbers who cohabit together "without marriage." This is undoubtedly an immoral and impolitic practice; but it is hoped that it is not continued from any diſreſpect to the ordinances of the church, but probably from being unable to pay for its indulgencies. If a little alteration was made in this point, the evil might not be ſo extenſive.

There is another "exiſting evil" which the author obſerves *ought to be removed*; that is, the low and unprincipled practitioners in the law, whoſe only ſupport is derived from creating litigation in civil ſuits. This in a political, as well as moral point of view, he ſays, ought not to exiſt: in which opinion it is preſumed every diſintereſted perſon will agree with him. But whether the remedy he propoſes will be ſatisfactory, or competent to the purpoſe, may be doubted.

The plan which he propoſes as a remedy for the foregoing evil is, "that inſtead of the "various inferior courts for the recovery of "debts (excluſive of the Courts of Con-

"ſcience)

" ſcience) which are of very limited uſe, on " account of appeals lying in all actions above " *Five Pounds*—the Juſtices, in General Seſ- " ſions of the Peace, *'specially commiſſioned*, " were to be empowered to hear and deter- " mine *finally*, by a jury, all actions of debt " under *Fifty Pounds*, and to *tax the coſts* in " proportion to the amount of the verdict, " great benefit would reſult to the public."

To decide upon ſuch points in law as muſt frequently ariſe in litigated matters, might require more knowledge and abilities than is uſually attached to thoſe who are appointed juſtices of the peace to ſit at a quarter ſeſſions, or decide ſummarily upon any trifling matter that may be brought before them. By their deciſions it is not to be expected the ſuitors would be ſatisfied. But as lawyers are a deſcription of perſons who are competent to defend themſelves againſt any illiberal inſinuations, it is beſt to conſign the propoſer over to them.

In the narrow limits of a publication like this it would be impoſſible to follow with any degree of accuracy the various objects on which this "heterogeneous maſs" treats. Many of them being familiar and local events, which ever will happen in an extenſive diſtrict like this metropolis; it is not to be wondered if it ſhould have excited a great number of readers. This curioſity having extended to a very conſiderable degree, it has been preſumed by ſome to be a very popular publication; if ſo the popularity ariſes more from the novelty than the purity of it.

It is admitted that the author muſt have had many opportunities for information which none but thoſe in his ſituation could acquire; but under what circumſtances that information was obtained, may be a proper matter for the enquiry of others who will give themſelves the trouble to do it.

As many of the remedies propoſed for the removal of "exiſting evils" are quite novel, and

and ſome of them are in direct oppoſition to the preſent laws, it might be expected that they would not paſs unnoticed. The preſent review is only thrown out as a hint to thoſe who are more capable, and have more time to ſearch out the inconſiſtencies, and improbabilities of his projects, and alſo their dangerous tendency to ſociety ſhould they ever obtain a legiſlative ſanction.

The additional powers propoſed to be given to the new board of controul, of committing perſons to confinement for any breach of their bye laws which they may think proper to make, is an extent of power to be dreaded in all civilized ſocieties; and it is the more ſo as the law at preſent ſtands, for a man may ſuffer confinement in a loathſome priſon for a long time upon a frivolous charge without being permitted to offer any thing in his defence. *

* In civil caſes, where by reaſon of inſolvency a perſon is unable to diſcharge his debts, and in conſequence ſuffers impriſonment, ſo high was the value of liberty eſtimated, that the Lord Chancellor TALBOT ſaid, "a man who had ſuffered a year's impriſonment, "had paid a debt of a thouſand Pounds."

Under the influence of ſuch a powerful Engine of Oppreſſion, what evils are not to be dreaded. It is an inſtrument that muſt operate like a two-edged ſword, while one ſide compels its ſupport, the other cuts the thread of ſubſiſtence. In all ages there have been found men who have acted upon principles repugnent to their feelings, but their ſituations, while they held them, required it; but ſome in time forgetting what *they* were, by long habit and exerciſe become callous to the feelings of others; and if their actions overreached the boundaries of the law which ought to have been their guide, application was made to power for their protection, or new laws were made to authorize their practice.

Laws being intended as a check upon human appetites, great care ſhould be taken in the appointment of thoſe who are intruſted to execute them; they ſhould at leaſt be choſen from among thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed for a pre-eminency in common ſenſe and common honeſty; otherwiſe the law itſelf may be made the means of gratifying ill-humour and

propenſities,

propenſities. Acting in a public ſituation, magiſtrates become the objects of public review, and it was the opinion of a judge, recently given to a Grand Jury: "I am moſt "deſirous that all perſons to whom any office "in this country is delegated, ſhould be nar- "rowly and unceaſingly watched, that their "miſtakes, miſrepreſentations, and miſcon- "duct ſhould be expoſed, and ſubjected to "public review."

As the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an office muſt create an unlimitted power, as a board of controul over all other magiſtrates who may have been choſen for diſtinguiſhed abilities, *their powers* mſt be rendered nugatory. The high and uſeful appointment of magiſtrates to hear and decide in their local ſituations, was an office to which men of great talents, property, and education, thought it an honour to be placed in; their only reward then was the reſpect which was ſhewn to their elevated ſtation, and the inward ſatisfaction they had of being uſeful around them. Whenever ſuch a ſituation becomes mechanical, it muſt leſſen its dignity, although, perhaps, not its utility.

The

The influence of ſuch a power is likewiſe to be dreaded: for although the author ſays, "a police magiſtrate has nothing to do with "politics—he is incapable and unworthy of "truſt if he permits any bias or influence" in that reſpect. How far this precept has been attended to by thoſe to whom it might be addreſſed, or how far it has been deviated from in practice, thoſe who have been under a neceſſity of obtaining licences for carrying on their profeſſions, can determine.

Upon ſuch a general catalogue of crimes, and ſuch an enormity of turpitude as the author has detailed in his Treatiſe, it was reaſonable to expect that ſome remedies would be propoſed: in this the public have not been diſappointed. Theſe remedies he has detailed at length; but as the number is almoſt equal to the different crimes and offences which he has been ſo elaborate in exhibiting, it has been only neceſſary here to mention thoſe which are to be effected by the new Board of Controul.

REMEDIES

REMEDIES

Propoſed by the AUTHOR *of the* TREATISE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE, AND MORALS OF THE PEOPLE.

I. The eſtabliſhment of an Office, the title of which is to be "The Board of Police Revenue." This is held out to be a central board of controul over all other police offices and magiſtrates throughout the kingdom, by which means a communication is to be opened whereby it will be enabled to keep a regiſter of all perſons charged with, or likely to commit offences. To make bye-laws for regulating their own proceedings, &c.

II. That in criminal proceedings, where perſons are charged with offences, and upon trial it ſhould appear the charge is not ſufficiently ſubſtantiated to bring conviction, evidence ſhall be admitted with reſpect to character, in order to enlighten the minds of the jury.

III. That a reference ſhould be had to the ancient laws which empowered magiſtrates to bind over perſons who were likely to commit offences.

IV. That

IV. That a place of confinement ſhall be adopted for the reception of convicts after the ſentence of law ſhall have expired; in order to their being prevented from the commiſſion of offences.

V. That certain deſcriptions of dealers ſhall be brought under the power of magiſtrates, and charged with duties, for the permiſſion of exerciſing their uſual trades, or carrying on their manufactories.

VI. For the preſervation of good morals it is recommended that all alehouſes, public gardens, licenced places of public amuſements, the theatres, publications of books and prints, ballad ſingers, &c. ſhould be under the board of controul.

VII. In order to reſtrain the extenſive evil ariſing from common proſtitutes in the ſtreets of the metropolis, it is propoſed,

Firſt,

That this office ſhall appoint a number of *diſcreet* officers to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall be found in that ſituation, and carried to their habitations, and the landlord's name regiſtered: upon refuſal to be carried to a place of confinement till ſuch information is obtained.

Secondly

Secondly,

That every male perſon who ſhall have made, or accepted, overtures from any female walking the ſtreets, ſhall in like manner be apprehended, and give ſecurity for his appearance before a magiſtrate the next day, and upon conviction ſhall pay *twenty ſhillings.*

There are ſeveral other minor duties attached to this office in which the author has been more explicit in his Treatiſe.

THE END.

R. SHAW, *Silver-Street.*

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THE

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NEW POLICE IN THE METROPOLIS, &c.

AND

THE CONVICT ESTABLISHMENT:

CONTAINING

The Plans propoſed for eſtabliſhing a New Office of POLICE and REVENUE in the Mtropolis.

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Plan of the New Building for employing and ſecuring Convicts.

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